India

FOR THE

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Notes and News 181
The Coming Famine Commission ... 184
The Indians in Natal... 185
Our London Letter 186
Notes from Bombay 187
India and the General Election:
The Indian Parliamentary Committee 187
Professor Murison's Contest in the Bridgeton Division 188
The Famine in India:
2,746,000 on Relief 190
The Tax-gatherer at Work 190
The Mansion House Fund 190
The *Investors' Review* Fund 190
British Indians in South Africa ... 190
Advertisements 192

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE weekly telegram from the Viceroy on the famine reports that the condition of the autumn crops is excellent except in part of Bombay, where more rain is needed, that sowing for the winter crops is being actively carried on, and that famine conditions are disappearing. Prices, though still high, are falling. The number of persons still in receipt of relief is stated to be 2,746,000. Lord Northcote supplements Lord Curzon's report as to the condition of parts of Bombay. Moderate to slight rain has fallen, but a good fall of rain is urgently wanted in parts of the affected area, and the crops are withered in parts of the Karnatik, Sholapur, and Ahmednagar. In the week ending September 29 there were in the famine-stricken districts of the Bombay Presidency 337 cases of cholera, with 215 deaths, and in the Native States 294 cases, with 223 deaths. The total number of deaths among persons on relief works or gratuitous relief in the British districts of the Presidency was during the week 2,411. If the British public at all appreciated the meaning of facts like these, it is inconceivable that the subscriptions to the relief funds would not be greatly augmented. We should like to direct attention to the telegrams, reproduced elsewhere, in which the Bombay correspondent of the *Morning Leader* corroborates the report of oppressions on the part of subordinate revenue officers. It is satisfactory that enquiry has been granted.

The *Times of India* is already discussing the "coming Famine Commission." Mr. Dutt has offered to serve without pay on any Commission that may be appointed to enquire into the Revenue System of the Central Provinces; and our Anglo-Indian contemporary admits that

> Mr. Dutt has written with moderation and ability upon Indian land revenue questions, and it is hardly likely that a Commission will be constituted without some consideration being given to the propriety of including him amongst its members.

But it suggests that he would be more useful as a witness,

> while on the Commission itself there should be as many men as can be chosen with an open mind and a power of patiently working out to a conclusion upon the conflicting views and evidence that will be brought forward.

But how many officials can be described as having an "open mind" on such questions? And yet the *Times of India* will hardly propose to exclude all officials. To the appointment of Mr. Justice Ranade as a Commissioner no objection can be made.

The special correspondent of the *Times of India* continues the series of articles which he entitles "Back to the Villages." In the number before us he contrasts the dislike of the respectable rustic labourer to leave the relief works, where he has to work for what he gets, with the anxiety of the same class to get away from the poorhouses. When Mr. Painter visited the poorhouse at Mehmadabad to see how many were fit to return home, all were anxious to go:—

> Poor, weakly souls, upon whose thin, wasted bodies privation had stamped marks not easily effaced, earnestly besought the Sahib for permission to depart, and one old fellow, so weak that he could stand only with difficulty, clamorously insisted that he was quite strong and well.

It must be remembered, too, that it is only the labourers who show a disposition to remain on the relief works—men who always find it difficult to live, and who even in good years have to eke out an existence during the hot months after the harvest is gathered with the mango and mahua fruits, and in the rainy season with grass seeds.]

It is customary in this country to speak of irrigation as the great safeguard of India in the future, while usurers are accounted the great cause of evil in the present. It will therefore be a surprise to many readers to find them classed together by the special correspondent of the *Times of India* in his account of the reasons why the village of Mokva has come out of the famine with less loss than its neighbours. The two reasons are:—

> First, the possession of a considerable number of wells enabled the rayats to crop an area which, though it may appear insignificant, meant much in a year of famine prices for grain and fodder; and secondly, the presence of forty houses of bunnias in the village ensured prompt advances when the rains came. The bunnia is so constantly held up to obloquy as a rapacious scoundrel who is responsible for most of the ills from which the rayat is suffering, that it was refreshing to hear some good account of a class who, at any rate under present conditions, are absolutely indispensable to agricultural India.

This enforces what has so often been put forward in these columns, that to destroy the money-lender you must replace him, and that the establishment of agricultural banks will do more than repressive legislation.

"Nowhere, however," says the same correspondent, "do the Government relief measures command readie[illegible] sympathy or more cordial approval than when they [illegible] seen at work in the villages carrying succour to the p[illegible] at their own doors," and he hopes that when the inev[illegible] enquiry takes place the humane course pursued in the Central Provinces may receive a full vindication. This seems to be very far from the view of the *Pioneer*, which points out that the numbers on relief increased even after the rains set in. It, however, admits that "almost all the officials in the Central Provinces were men of experience in famine administration." Is not this the key to the difficulty? The pressure on the relief works has been great and persistent because the previous famine—only three years back—left the people without staying-power or resources; and the failure to cope with that famine made able and sympathetic administrators like Mr. Ibbetson and Mr. Fraser all the more determin[illegible] that on the present occasion the relief should be sufficient.

The General Election proceeds apace and 560 members have been returned to the new Parliament, leaving 110 seats still to be filled. As we go to press (Thursday) the House of Commons consists of 298 Conservatives and 58 Liberal Unionists—a difference in names only, as the latter are almost more strenuous supporters of the Government than the former—making the Ministerial members 356. The Opposition consists of 130 Liberals and 74 Nationalists—yielding a majority for the Government of 152 votes. Assuming there to be no change in the 110 constituencies yet to be polled, there would be a Government majority in the new Parliament of 130 against 128 in the last Parliament. It may be said that while khaki fever has done well for the Government in the boroughs it has not greatly affected the counties. At the close of the pollings in the English boroughs the balance of gains and losses was decidedly with the Unionists, their net gain being 8 seats, counting 16 votes on a division. The counties have come to the rescue of the Liberal Party and the gain has been reduced from 8 seats to 1. While Mr. Asquith looks to a majority of at least 150 votes for the Unionists we venture to hope that he is a little wide of the mark, and that the final result of the Election will show a majority not greater than that which closed the old Parliament, viz., 128 votes.

In these days of khaki it is hardly surprising that certain robust members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee have lost their seats. It is true that the Committee

has not suffered greatly in point of numbers; but India can ill spare such valiant champions of her cause as the veteran fighter Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. E. H. Pickersgill (who frequently wrote as well as spoke on Indian questions); Professor Stuart, who has championed the cause of purity in the army; and Mr. Philip Stanhope. It is with special regret that we view the defeat of Mr. Robinson Souttar in Dumfriesshire. Mr. Souttar had personal knowledge of Indian life, and his splendid speech in defence of higher education will not soon be forgotten. While these reverses are to be deplored, we have the satisfaction of finding among those who have been re-elected such stalwarts as Mr. C. P. Scott, who had a hard fight in the Leigh division; Mr. Thomas Burt, who has more than once voted against ex-Ministers on his own bench; and Mr. J. E. Ellis, against whom a campaign of singular virulence was directed. Of those who we had hoped might be members of the Indian Parliamentary Committee in the next Parliament, we deeply regret that Professor Murison and Mr. A. E. Fletcher have not been returned.

Many questions have to be discussed at a General Election in England, and this time the Conservatives have appealed to the country on one issue alone—the settlement of the South African difficulty. But India has not been entirely overlooked. Many candidates such as the Hon. Philip Stanhope, Mr. H. J. Wilson of Sheffield, Professor Murison, and others on the Liberal side, made special reference in their election addresses to the fact that the Government had not given a grant to the famine-stricken people of India. Miss Alison Garland has been busy addressing two meetings a night for Liberal candidates who are sympathetic on Indian affairs. She has spoken at Burnley (three meetings), Brigham, Wyndham Row, Broughton (Cumberland), Littleborough, Ramsbottom; Marple, Mellor, Hadfield, Buxton (two meetings), Fairfield, and Doveshole, in the High Peak division of Derbyshire. Her [illegible]ches on the distress she witnessed in famine-stricken [illegible] were listened to with breathless interest by audiences [illegible]g from three hundred to three thousand people. She appealed to the electors to show their condemnation of a Government that had given doles to the extent of over £3,000,000 a year to its "friends," yet had nothing to send to the voteless millions of India. The result of the elections shows that she did not appeal in vain. The High Peak division has returned a Liberal for the first time since it was made a county constituency. At all these places Miss Garland has been requested to give a lecture on India when the excitement of a contest is over and calmer thought can be given to the wants of our subjects in our vast Indian Empire.

Everybody is now a Cabinet-maker. The game is really quite easy, if not exactly exciting. You take the names of all the Cabinet offices, and all the names of at all likely persons, and having put the names into two separate hats, you draw them out one by one. You then send a paragraph to a newspaper—a London letter for choice—and say that you have frightfully exclusive information. Probably nobody, not even Lord Salisbury, yet knows what the new distribution of offices is to be, and until the announcements are officially made we shall decline to believe that Lord Curzon is coming home to be Foreign Minister, or that Lord George Hamilton is going out to India as Viceroy, or that Lord Lansdowne is to go to the India Office. It is not easy to say which of the three appointments, if they were really made, would be the worst misfortune for India. *Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi*—which may be freely translated: "No matter how the Cabinet pack is shuffled, poor India gets a bad hand."

In view of Lord Curzon's visit to Madras, the *Hindu* does well to press upon the Mahajana Sabha the duty of making strong representations to his lordship on three important points. The first and most important is the question of the land revenue settlement. "The present policy," says the *Hindu*, "is quite different from what commended itself to British statesmen and administrators only a few years ago, and has proved ruinous to the masses of the people, to the great agricultural population, and to the general prosperity of the country at large." The Viceroy has already heard on the subject from Mr. Romesh Dutt. The second point is the clamant manipulation of the irrigation system, which, as our contemporary says, "has been treated by the Government of late more as a revenue-yielding concern than as a means of improving the general prosperity of the country, of providing against famines, and the consequent necessity for remission." The third grievance is the quinquennial exactions of the Government of India from the resources of the local government—exactions which "kill all local efforts after economy and progress, and postpone indefinitely all works of reform." Lord Curzon must see the insensate folly of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs, and we hope the Mahajana Sabha, who can fairly represent the whole Presidency, will present a full and unvarnished case on all three questions.

Returning to the charge, the *Hindu* adds a fourth question, which materially affects Madras, though it equally affects the other Presidencies or Provinces—the unsatisfactory Indian representation on the Legislative Councils. It recalls Lord Salisbury's insistence, when the Indian Councils Act was passed, that "the machinery to be provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to *the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India*." How has the Act worked? The *Hindu* says:—

> The net result of the new Indian Councils Act, which was passed expressly to give greater representation to Indian interests, is that the European element, nominally non-official, has risen from 1 to 4, while the Indian element has risen from 4 to 7 only; for it must be remembered that the only non-official seat for Europeans under the old arrangements was the one allowed to the Chamber of Commerce. Hence, as a result of the new Councils Act, the very small European community, already represented by the officials, has benefited itself very much more than the Indian community for whose sake the new Act was specially designed and passed. The European non-official members, with rare exceptions, always vote with the Government and against the people's representatives; and the increase, therefore, of European members, though they are non-officials, are merely so many additions to the already overwhelming official votes. And for us, further, there is always the risk of the constitution of our electoral bodies being so radically changed as to convert it into a European body, as has been most forcibly illustrated by the new Calcutta Municipal Act, which has driven away the native element from the Corporation and made the European (*i.e.*, official) vote supreme.

So much for the unsatisfactory constitution of the Councils. But, further, "in the actual working of the Councils, there is even greater cause for dissatisfaction and complaint":—

> Not even the most convincing case, backed up by the absolute unanimity of the elected non-official members, has in the least influenced the destiny of a measure, once determined upon by the Government; and with regard to the privilege of interpellation newly granted, we have had in our Madras Legislative Council the most indefensible instances of the open disregard of the principles laid down by the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The current number of the *Madras Review* deals with this aspect of the reformed Councils; and the specific instances it gives of questions most unreasoningly disallowed, of questions deliberately evaded, and of questions imperfectly answered, should convince any impartial reader that the President of the Legislative Council has failed to exercise his discretion in the manner in which alone Lord Lansdowne assured us, from his place in the Supreme Legislative Council, it would be exercised.

Lord Lansdowne anticipated that it would "very rarely be found necessary to resort to the veto of the President" on interpellations; but his lordship had in his mind the idea that the veto would be used only when questions could not be answered "consistently with public interests." The latter expression has become astonishingly elastic.

Mr. Sarath Kumar Ghosh, writing in the *Daily Express*, propounds a plan for the establishment and working of Agricultural Banks in view of mitigating the effects of recurrent famines and bad harvests. The idea is quite common now, but it is well to consider all sorts of suggestions for its practical embodiment. Mr. Ghosh says:—

> Let us assume that a large village, or a group of small ones, contains 1,000 rayats willing to deposit at least Rs. 10 each. This will give a minimum capital of Rs. 10,000 for each village bank. On this deposit no interest will be allowed; on the other hand, no charge will be made for keeping the account, and the whole amount may be withdrawn without notice. Hence this minimum deposit of Rs. 10 will no more than give the depositor the rights of membership. A member will be entitled to a loan from the bank at (say) 10 per cent. interest on good security—*e.g.*, his land, live stock, or standing crops—on condition that his membership dates from at least six months past, even though he has withdrawn his deposit within a period not exceeding one month from the date of his application. This will tend to encourage deposits, and at the same time a spirit of independence—for instance, where a member withdraws his deposits thinking a loan unnecessary, but finds afterwards that his difficulties

were greater than he calculated. In exceptional cases, however, advances may be made to non-members, but at somewhat higher rates of interest, say, 12 or 15 per cent. This is not too high for India, where money-lenders never charge less than 75 per cent.

Mr. Ghosh proceeds :—

Regarding the maintenance of the bank, we have assumed the capital to be Rs. 10,000. Of this sum Rs. 500 may be kept as "till-money," Rs. 500 held as a reserve fund (which is a higher percentage of reserve than in most banks), and the remainder, Rs. 9,000, expended in loans to members at 10 per cent. interest. Presuming that under usual conditions the whole of this loanable fund will be utilised (a portion at even a higher rate of interest to non-members), the annual income arising therefrom will be Rs. 900, a sum quite sufficient to pay all working expenses. At the head of all individual village banks in a province there will be a central bank, situated at its capital town. Its chief function will be to collect all the reserves of the villages (Rs. 500 each), keep one-tenth of the total as a central reserve, and invest the nine-tenths profitably. The object of the central reserve will be to meet a possible run upon any of the smaller banks, its percentage to capital being again higher than in any bank in the world. Hence, in the matter of public credit, it will fulfil much the same duty that the Bank of England does in this country.

This year the official review of Native literature has been taken out of the hands of the Reporter on the Native Press and entrusted to the Director of Public Instruction. The results have not been altogether satisfactory, for Mr. Giles does not seem to have always kept within due bounds of political and racial impartiality. Sometimes his remarks border on the absurd. To take one instance; in reviewing Mr. Madan's "Life of Sir Jamsetjee Jeejibhoy," he says :—

It is a pity that Mr. Madan should have allowed himself to hint that in the present day the sympathies of the ruled and the rulers are no longer united as they once were.

But, as every one knows, the growing distance between the two races has become a commonplace of Indian politics, nowhere more readily recognised than in the Anglo-Indian press.

But the Director of Public Instruction is seen at his worst in his review of *Sansarika*, a volume of Gujarati verses by the well-known author Mr. Malabari. In October, 1898, the author sent a copy of this work to the Director of Public Instruction, but in January, 1899, the book was returned with a memorandum signed by his Assistant saying that the book was not wanted. Later, however, Mr. Malabari became aware that the Director was making unfavourable allusions to the book, and he therefore, on August 15, 1899, wrote asking what there was in it to find fault with. In his reply, dated August 28, the Director made certain definite charges, but he refused to let Mr. Malabari see the translations on which those charges were founded.

As for the review of *Sansarika* now put forward by Mr. Giles in his official capacity, three points will be sufficient for our readers to form a judgment of its propriety. First, he professes to find it difficult to believe that a Parsi can feel for the sufferings of his Hindu fellow-countrymen. Secondly, he considers that the object of some of the earlier poems is "most decidedly to incite the people of Gujarat to cast off a yoke which presses on them very heavily." To those who know how strongly Mr. Malabari is inclined to support the measures of Government this will appear supremely ridiculous. Some of us have thought him too fearful of the least suspicion of factious opposition. Truly, he has his reward. Thirdly, we are told that two or three of the poems are distinctly "*patriotic*," this word being in italics and between inverted commas. Is it quite the correct thing for a public official in a public document thus to sneer at patriotism? We are glad to see that the *Indian Spectator*, Mr. Malabari's paper, has taken the matter up.

The Government of India seems very far from perfection, even if we judged it only from such friendly criticism as appears in the Anglo-Indian papers. Nevertheless, the *Pioneer* considers that it should be taken as the pattern, not merely for the government of the newly-conquered Provinces, but for the whole of South Africa. Popular government, franchises, etc., may be good enough to fight for, but are really belated democratic fallacies. The true end of a war to secure equal rights for the whole white population of South Africa is to deprive them all of the cumbrous and obsolete machinery of Parliaments, representation, and self-government. But if this is carried out it is impossible that South Africa should become a Crown Colony. "The notion of subjecting a country as big as Europe, and endowed with mighty destinies, to the whims of the Colonial Office clerk is quite out of the question." There remains, then, only the constitution (!) of British India—now at length recognised as the last word of political wisdom.

It is the common talk of Anglo-Indians that the people take no interest in municipal elections. Yet in a notable contest that has just been decided at Rawalpindi, not only did the utmost excitement prevail before and during the polling, but, as we learn from the *Tribune*, the return of the successful candidate was celebrated by a triumphal procession of fifteen thousand persons which passed through the main bazaars amid a rain of flowers and rose-water from the windows and balconies. As to the merits of the two candidates we say nothing, except to point out that no questions of race, or caste, or religion could account for the excitement, for they were both members of the Sahiri clan of Khatris, and, as it happens, both lawyers. It was an interesting incident that representatives of the Muslim community waited on the winning candidate to offer him their congratulations.

Tuesday's *Gazette* contained the following notice :—

India Office, October 5, 1900. Rules Publication Act, 1893.—In conformity with the provisions of the statute 56 and 57 Victoria, cap. 66, notice is hereby given that the Secretary of State for India in Council proposes, with the advice and assistance of the Civil Service Commissioners, at the expiration of 40 days from the date of this *Gazette*, to make alterations, as shown below, in the regulations for the admission of candidates to the Civil Service of India, under section 32 of the statute 21 and 22 Victoria, cap. 106. For that part of regulation 4 which refers to natural science, and which at present stands as follows—" Natural science—*i e.*, any number not exceeding three of the following subjects :—Elementary chemistry and elementary physics, 600 marks (N.B.—This subject may not be taken up by those who offer either higher chemistry or higher physics); higher chemistry, 600 marks: higher physics, 600 marks; geology, 600 marks; botany, 600 marks; zoology, 600 marks; animal physiology, 600 marks—1,800 "—it is proposed to substitute the following, that is to say :—" Natural science—*i.e.*, any number not exceeding three of the following subjects :—Chemistry, 600 marks; physics, 600 marks; geology, 600 marks; botany, 600 marks; zoology, 600 marks; animal physiology, 600 marks—1,800." It is intended that the changes should come into force in respect of the examination to be held in 1902 and subsequent years.

The aim of the new rule is obviously to make it less easy for candidates to obtain credit for a smattering of chemistry and physics—which seems sensible enough.

The Madras Law College seems to have fallen into a deplorable condition, in spite of the candid criticism to which it has recently been subjected. Hitherto it has had the merit of at least paying its way, and even of being a source of substantial income to the Government; but during the past year there has been evolved a deficit of over Rs.18,000. It is not unnatural that the Principal looks forward hopefully to the future. Yet the whole institution manifestly needs to be overhauled and placed upon a practical footing. The first consideration is the requirements of the students, and these evidently have not been met in anything approaching to a satisfactory manner and degree. The reformation of the College cannot be taken in hand too soon or too seriously, and personal interests or susceptibilities must not be allowed to bar the way to a prompt and thorough rehabilitation. It is ridiculous that Madras should be outshone by Nevandrum.

Remittances on India for 25 lakhs were on Wednesday offered for tender by the India Council, and the applications amounted to Rs. 3,25,25,000 at prices ranging from 1s. 3$\frac{31}{32}$d. to 1s. 4d. The following amounts, all in bills, were allotted, viz., Rs. 5,70,000 on Calcutta, Rs. 3,36,000 on Bombay, and Rs. 15,94,000 on Madras, all at an average of 1s. 3·938d. Tenders at 1s. 3$\frac{15}{16}$d. will receive about 8 per cent. Later the Council sold bills for Rs. 1,65,322 on Calcutta and Rs. 10,000 on Bombay at 1s. 3$\frac{31}{32}$d. Last week remittances for Rs. 20,55,088 were sold for £136,487, making the total disposed of from April 1 to Wednesday night Rs. 6,58,61,263, producing £4,380,768. Next week 25 lakhs will again be offered.

THE COMING FAMINE COMMISSION.

A FORTNIGHT ago (September 28, INDIA, Vol. XIV, p. 157) we commented on the terms in which Lord George Hamilton referred in his speech on the Indian Budget (July 26, INDIA, Vol. XIV, p. 66) to the coming Commission of Enquiry into the Famine. It seems necessary now to go into the matter a little more fully. Not only the communications of our Bombay Correspondent, but also the editorial columns of the principal newspapers in India show that the anticipated enquiry is much in the minds of thoughtful Indians and Anglo-Indians alike. No wonder, indeed. For surely it is a matter of high Imperial concern that the people should be protected from the ravages of the terrible scourge that menaces more and more insistently their lives and their fortunes, and with these the very foundations of the British Empire in India.

We trust that the public discussion of the question will not be diverted into side issues, however important these may seem to be. For example, both Mr. Romesh Dutt and Mr. Justice Ranade have been put forward as members of the Commission, and even a certain preference has been indicated for the one over the other. For our own part we do not see why both of these gentlemen should not be asked to serve, for both of them are full of experience on many aspects of the subject, and both of them would be cordially approved not only in Bengal and in Bombay, but throughout the length and breadth of India, and even in Britain itself. It is no objection to Mr. Dutt that he has already expressed "various very definite conclusions on what would necessarily be topics for enquiry by the Commission." Such conclusions are based on facts specifically set forth; but it would be ridiculous to suggest that Mr. Dutt has closed his mind to new facts, or would hesitate to revise his conclusions in the light of new facts. We do not doubt for a moment that Mr. Dutt would come to the Enquiry with a perfectly open mind for the reception and consideration of all fresh evidence. As for Mr. Justice Ranade, the *Times of India* properly points out that he "has been an almost life-long student of agrarian economics;" that he "knows the problem at first hand, and his experience as special judge under the Deccan Agriculturists' Act has given him an unrivalled acquaintance with the facts of rural indebtedness;" and that "he has the patient, plodding, and essentially judicial mind which is required for the satisfactory conduct of an enquiry such as this." Decidedly, both Mr. Dutt and Mr. Ranade ought to be members. And it would be easy to specify other Indian gentlemen of experience whose presence on the Commission would strengthen the Enquiry and give satisfaction to all concerned. Nor is the appointment of Indian members to be regarded as in any sense a favour. It is a clear right. It is a matter of justice. It is a condition of efficiency. It is essential for the satisfaction of the people of India. The Deccan Riots Commission forms a conclusive precedent.

The main point, however—and the main point must not be obscured by subordinate considerations of whatever importance—is this: What is it that the Commission is to enquire into? The last Famine Commission presents a melancholy example and an impressive warning. Let there be no repetition of the same mistake this time. A fortnight ago we wrote:—

> No doubt, as this famine has shown, especially in Bombay, the relief system is still capable of much improvement. But the fundamental problem, as our Bombay Correspondent points out, is the prevention of famine.

For weeks and months back we have again and again insisted on this view; and those who have followed with care the utterances of the Secretary of State for India will appreciate the necessity for insistence. Turn back to January 26, 1897, when Sir William Wedderburn moved an amendment to the Address praying that "a full and independent enquiry shall forthwith be made into the condition of the masses of the Indian people, with a view to ascertain the causes by reason of which they are helpless to resist even the first attacks of famine and pestilence." Lord George Hamilton, though declaring his opinion that "it is a mistake and is wrong for any member of this House to hold out the hope that any remedies which he can suggest can prevent famines from desolating India," yet did acknowledge that something effective might be accomplished. He said:—

> Twenty years ago a Commission was appointed to enquire into the methods which had been adopted to avert famine, and it made reports and suggestions which formed the basis of the present Famine Code. Therefore, the Government are in a better position, as protectors of the people against famine, than they had ever been before. I AGREE WITH THE HON. BARONET THAT THE OPPORTUNITY THIS FAMINE AFFORDS OUGHT NOT TO BE ALLOWED TO PASS WITHOUT OUR TAKING EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO ENQUIRE INTO AND ASCERTAIN THE BEST METHODS OF PROTECTING THE PEOPLE OF INDIA FROM THE RECURRENCE OF SIMILAR CALAMITIES. No doubt the reports which will be made to the Government and received by the Viceroy will contain suggestions in various directions and suggest improvements.

It is scarcely possible to read the sentence next the last without feeling that Lord George had definitely in his mind the object of prevention, as well as the object of mitigation, of famine. But on August 5 of the same year, in his annual statement as to the finances of India, he seemed to contract his mental vision. He clearly warned the House "that, independent of the ordinary emergencies to which all civilised governments may be subject, there were in India special dangers and difficulties which might, almost without warning, cause a sudden and heavy drain upon her treasuries;" and prominent among these was famine. Yet, unless we are grievously mistaken, not a word did he say on that occasion as to measures of prevention. His mind was full of the glory of mitigation. Thus:—

> No praise can be too high for the splendid work of the local officers in combating famine. . . . Some valuable reports will be published giving details of the administration and distribution of this fund (subscriptions in relief of the sufferers). These reports, and those emanating from the officers in charge of relief, will, no doubt, offer many excellent suggestions, and I have little doubt that out of the experience of the present year such an improvement will be made in the already effective Famine Code as will make its administration in any future famine as great an improvement upon the work of this year as this year's work was upon the administration of twenty years back.

Not a word here about prevention; not a syllable except in praise of the improvements, past and future, in the Famine Code—that is to say, in the system of relief. And, as we pointed out, Lord George Hamilton, on July 26 last, expressed the hope "that the collection of facts and the expression of opinions" by the promised Commission of Enquiry "may be of use to the officials of the locality in dealing with subsequent outbreaks." Again relief or mitigation; not a word about prevention.

The last Famine Commission, it is true, devoted part of its Report to the question of prevention; but we have already shown how hopelessly inadequate the treatment of the subject was. Now India has passed through the fiery furnace of yet another famine, admittedly the worst of the century, and only three years after a famine that was then admitted to be the worst of the century; and, of course, there is the promise of another Commission. If it was vital three years ago to enquire into the causes of the famine with a view to prevention, how much more urgent is such an enquiry now? Everybody acknowledges the great efficiency of the Famine Code from the point of view of the aspirations of the Government policy in regard to famine, though many of us think that such aspirations are not sufficiently elevated in the dire emergency. Everybody would welcome any practicable improvement in the system of relief; and, after such criticisms as those of Mr. Vaughan Nash, it is plain that there is scope for improvement, and the enquiry ought to be fruitful on this side of the investigation. But why on earth should it be so necessary to insist that the enquiry should go into the causes of famine? Can anything be more obvious than that the causes of famine are the fundamental objects of enquiry? To tell us that "it is a mistake, and is wrong for any member of this House to hold out the hope that any remedies which he can suggest can prevent famines from desolating India"—why, surely this is but the abnegation of statesmanship. If the British Government of India is beneficent and capable beyond all human parallel, as we are so often informed, it ought surely to make it its first duty to wrest from the famine the secret of its malignant origin. Such a Government cannot be afraid of full and independent enquiry. At any rate, nothing less will satisfy the public, either in India or at home, and it behoves the Government to grasp its nettle with a firm hand. For it is confronted

with the riddle of the Indian Sphinx, and it must solve the riddle or perish for its lack of perspicacity. The stake is nothing less than the existence of the British Empire in India.

THE INDIANS IN NATAL.

In the stormy period through which South Africa is passing there has been a consensus of opinion that the Indians of Natal have behaved well. Deprived of some of the most elementary rights of citizenship, flouted and despised, they have forgotten all their wrongs in the hour of their oppressors' adversity, and have been foremost in bringing them help. Debarred from fighting they have come forward to succour the wounded, and many a Colonial Volunteer owes his life to the bravery and devotion of those whom the public opinion of the Colony had striven to make aliens and outcasts. Very early in the war the Indians of Natal formed a Volunteer Stretcher-bearer Corps of over a thousand. The pay of the men was only a trifle over half that of the European stretcher-bearers, while the officers, to the number of thirty, served without any pay whatever. At Colenso, at Spion Kop, at Vaalkranz, and on many another hotly contested field, the Indians gained the praise of all. The organiser of the Corps was Mr. Gandhi, whose advocacy of the cause of his countrymen not so very long ago endangered his life at the hands of a Durban mob. Now he is thus spoken of by the Prime Minister of the Colony:—

> I cannot too warmly thank your able countryman, Mr. Gandhi, upon his timely, unselfish, and most useful action in voluntarily organising a corps of bearers for ambulance work at the front at a moment when their labours were sorely needed in discharging arduous duties which experience showed to be by no means devoid of peril. All engaged in that service deserve the grateful recognition of the community.

Nor was this all. In spite of the burden laid upon the Indian community in succouring and supporting the great mass of Indians flying from the seat of war, they subscribed a considerable sum to the Women's Patriotic Fund, which had for its object the assistance of the sick and wounded Volunteers at the front, and this although no Indian, for excellent reasons, was allowed to serve among them. The Indian women worked at pillow-cases and other comforts for the hospitals out of materials supplied free by the Indian traders. The whole charge of the refugee Indians was borne by their own countrymen, for which the Indian community were publicly thanked by the Mayor of Durban. Nor did they fail to subscribe to the fund started by Captain Leumann as a recognition of the services of the Indian camp-followers. And all this was done, not as a matter of bargain or barter, not in the hope of personal honours and rewards, or on the promise of enlarged political and social privileges, but solely because they felt that those who claimed the rights must perform the duties of British subjects, and that in such performance lay the surest way to the esteem of their fellow-citizens.

But have the Indians of Natal received the grateful recognition which, in the words of the Colonial Prime Minister, "their services deserve"? or will they receive it? There is too much reason to fear that they may not. It is true that the relations between the two races were never so friendly and that the régime of open insult has for a time ceased. It is true also that while the war and the unsettlement due to the war lasts, the repeal of the laws under which the Indians suffer cannot be urged without difficulty. But the disquieting feature in the situation is that, as the time when legislation may be reasonably demanded draws nearer, the old bad spirit shows signs of recrudescence. The *Natal Witness* has lately said in the most pointed way that the services rendered by the Indians during the war must not blind the colonists to the necessity of keeping a vigilant eye on the Indian question. Nay, further, it is even suggested that these services should be considered as an acknowledgment of the justice of the position taken up by Natal and not as given in spite of legitimate grievances.

Such at all events is the view the Indians take of the position of the *Natal Witness*. There has recently been drawn up a memorandum, printed on another page, entitled, "Notes on the Present Position of the British Indians in South Africa," which contains a summary of the chief grievances under which they suffer, and affords only too good evidence of how precarious is the good-will of their fellow-citizens of British descent. It is true that they gratefully acknowledge the better feeling that exists between the two races, owing to the brave and magnanimous conduct of the Indians throughout the war. But it is obvious that they fear that the slightest indiscretion on their part would revive the old spirit of oppression. There had been some talk of a memorial to the Colonial Secretary, backed by public meetings. But the scheme was dropped; for the public opinion of the Colony is very adverse to any "outside interference," even on the part of a Minister of the Crown. The Colonial Secretary may interfere in the affairs of a foreign nation to right the wrongs of those who claim to be citizens of the Empire, but his power of protection is viewed with a jealous eye within the Empire itself. The Indians say, "It is likely that a Memorial at the present time would disturb the happy relations which, for the time being, appear to subsist between the European and the Indian communities." These happy relations are thus viewed as neither firm nor permanent. But such as they are, the Indians are grateful for them. Meanwhile, the obnoxious laws remain unrepealed.

Although the subject has been often dealt with in these pages, it may be worth while to recur to the grievances of the Indians of Natal, taking into consideration the new relations existing between the races, at all events for the moment, and the great chasm of bloodshed and misery which separates the South Africa of to-day from the South Africa of twelve months ago. Turning to a letter circulated by the Natal Indians in March, 1897 (to be reproduced in our next issue), we find that the chief grievances of the Indian there enumerated were: the requirement of passes if out after 9 p.m., or if driving cattle; his liability to arrest at any time unless he has a pass showing that he is a free Indian; the requirement that an indentured Indian who has served his time must return to India or pay a poll-tax of £3; the denial of the franchise—an Indian, before being allowed to vote, having to prove that he belongs to a country "possessing elective representative institutions founded on the Parliamentary franchise;" and the closing of the Government High Schools to Indian students. It was an additional aggravation that the Indians had been previously in the possession of the franchise when duly qualified. Nor does it fail to throw light on the situation to find that, in a bye-law of the Durban Municipality, Indian servants are referred to as "others belonging to the uncivilised races of Asia." But even at that time the laws against the Indians actually in force paled before those in contemplation. Drastic legislation against immigration, whether by means of harassing conditions or under pretence of sanitary precaution, was already proposed in the Natal Parliament. The power to withhold trading licences without their decisions being subject to review by the Courts of Law was to be granted to Town Councils and Town Boards; and to save free Indians from arrest a pass system for them, as well as for those under indentures, was to be established, while no liability was to accrue to officers arresting Indians who were without passes.

It is noticeable that in this document the oppressive laws actually in force in March, 1897, are treated as the least part of what the Indians have to suffer. Hard as they are to bear, they are as nothing to the new legislation then in contemplation and since enacted. The Immigration Restriction Act is still being enforced. Under it no one, unless previously domiciled can enter the Colony if he cannot write out an application for admission in some European language. Without any authorisation in the Statute, the shipping companies are warned not to bring any passengers unless they have certificates of domicile, or permission to enter. Even to visit temporarily or pass through the Colony an Indian has to deposit £10, though this is a reduction in the £25 originally required. Under the Act, British citizens of Indian race flying from the Transvaal at the outbreak of the war, having taken ship at Lorenco Marques, were not allowed to land at Durban. More obnoxious still is the Dealers' Licence Act, under which the corporations of Newcastle, Ladysmith, and Dundee deprived their Indian fellow subjects of permission to trade. The Natal Government have, indeed, warned the local bodies that they must use their power with discretion; but, meantime, they refuse to grant what the Indians demand—not permission to trade freely, but only an appeal to the Courts of Law.

In regard to education, too, matters have grown steadily

worse since 1897. Then it was a question of the exclusion of Indians from the High Schools only. Now Indian children are shut out from even the ordinary primary schools. Nor must it be forgotten that many grievances, such as the power given to town councils to confine Indians to particular locations, are not even mentioned—comparatively smaller troubles, as the Indians call them; yet this question of locations was considered by the British authorities of great importance when the offenders were officials of the Transvaal.

Is it not time that these oppressions should cease, and that those who have shown themselves ready to take up the duties and the burdens of citizenship, should be treated as fellow-citizens subject only to just and equal laws? If not, then those who applaud the South African War openly stamp their professions as so much canting hypocrisy.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

WESTMINSTER, Thursday.

WITHIN the last few days the electoral struggle has resolved itself into a contest for the maintenance of the Ministerial majority. The results to be declared to-day will, in all probability, give the Government a slight advantage; but at the time of writing parties are almost precisely as they were. In other words the Unionists have fared a little worse than in 1895, and have failed to improve the position which they occupied at the dissolution. Was it worth while for so infinitesimal a change to plunge the country precipitately into the turmoil of a general election? The question would doubtless evoke an emphatic affirmative from Mr. Chamberlain's supporters. Even as things have now turned out, the expectations of those gentlemen have been grievously disappointed. How much greater might not the disappointment have been had the Government given the Opposition the privileges of a fresh register, a cool-headed electorate, and a fair field? Yes; it must be admitted that Ministers have been wise in their generation. Whether they have been wise for future generations time will show. Already they are trying to purge themselves of some of the grosser uncleannesses of a sordid campaign, but the offence having served its purpose repentance comes too late. Posterity pronouncing on the means by which Lord Salisbury and his colleagues attained and clung to power will say of them that their honour rooted in dishonour stood.

Only one member of the Government has failed to secure re-election. His defeat is owing to Unionist defections, and those defections are due to the fact that the minister in question was distinguished above his colleagues by a desire to deal fairly by friend and foe and to ignore party in the administration of a department of State. For this offence the Conservatives of Dublin have given Mr. Horace Plunkett his dismissal. Rather than countenance the policy of killing Home Rule by kindness they have sacrificed an able minister and a safe seat. The incident is a pretty illustration of the tolerant temper of Irish Unionism. On the Liberal side the most regrettable defeats have been those of Sir Wilfrid Lawson at Cockermouth, Mr. Robinson Souttar in Dumfriesshire, Mr. Albert Spicer in the Monmouth Boroughs, and Mr. James Duckworth at Middleton. Mr. Spicer's rejection is the more to be deplored because his place has been taken by Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, of the South Africa Chartered Company. On the whole, however, Liberalism has held its own in the counties more firmly than had been expected. Scotland has done well in this respect, England better, and Wales best of all.

If the elections serve to strengthen the unity of Liberalism they will have had one good result. After all, Liberals have fought together more harmoniously than in 1895, and despite the division of the Party into an Imperialist and an anti-Imperialist wing the two sections have worked in co-operation. Moreover, they have had successes and misfortunes in common. If Sir Wilfrid Lawson has been ejected from Cockermouth, Mr. Mendl has failed to retain Plymouth. A son-in-law of Lord Brassey won Hastings, but the victor of Westmoreland is what Mr. Chamberlain would call a pro-Boer. While the Conservatives boast that they demolished a "traitor" in Mr. Maddison, they have had to swallow uncompromising "treason" of Mr. John Burns. They may say that Sir George Newnes's success at Swansea was due to his Imperialism, but no such excuse will avail them in the face of Mr. Lloyd George's victory at Carnarvon. Imperialism may have helped Mr. Robson to swell his majority, but it did not save Mr. Havelock Wilson from extinction. If it strengthened Mr. Asquith's hold on East Fife, the want of it did no harm to Mr. Labouchere at Northampton, or to Sir Robert Reid at Dumfries. Happily then, neither section has cause to reproach the other. Whether candidates have called themselves Liberal Imperialists or simply Liberals the constituencies have dealt with them according to their Liberalism and not according to their Imperialism.

Mr. Chamberlain is likely to receive a lesson shortly in the depth of man's ingratitude. To the Colonial Secretary more than to anyone is due the success of the Unionists at the polls. He alone among members of the Government has fought with conviction. The others have all contrived to give the public the impression that they were somewhat ashamed of themselves and of the tactics of their enterprising colleague. But for Mr. Chamberlain they would have postponed the contest to a less favourable season, and with their antiquated ideas of fair play they would probably have been beaten out of the field. Singularly enough, however, their scruples are forgotten now that it comes to be a question of dividing the booty. The Colonial Secretary was left to do the dirty work of the campaign by himself—greatly, it must be said, to his own satisfaction—but he is not to be allowed to reap the harvest. Already, his jealous co-partners are beginning to remind him that he is not the only member of the firm.

As if in response to the pressure of a single hand the most costly of the Ministerial journals and its cheapest coadjutor came out simultaneously last Monday with articles designed to belittle Mr. Chamberlain's importance. Foreign Governments were assured in one sheet that the Colonial Secretary was but one member of a Cabinet of twenty, that he spoke for nobody but himself, and that in any event he could do nothing without the assent of his colleagues. The re-assurance was ostensibly addressed to foreign Governments. Possibly, however, the person who inspired it would not be sorry if it had happened to find a reader in Birmingham. In the other case, the leading Jingo of the Press propounded the facile question, "Is Mr. Chamberlain going too far?" Most people had been disgusted by the Colonial Secretary's message to a Lancashire constituency to the effect that every seat lost to the Government was a seat sold to the Boers, but to find his chief admirer in the Press proclaiming its nausea was a distinct surprise. Mr. Chamberlain is a docile pupil. In his next speech he adopted quite an apologetic tone and himself took up the parable of his comparative insignificance. Which means that this keen-witted tactician scents danger no further away than Downing Street, and is accordingly on his guard.

Parliament will probably not reassemble till next January. After the last three elections—in 1895, 1892, and 1886—the dissolution was followed by a short autumn Session; but that was because the previous Session had not been allowed to run its course. Usually, when a dissolution occurs, as in the present instance, in the middle of the recess, the meeting is postponed by periodical prorogation till the beginning of the year. That was what happened in 1885. In that year the dissolution came in November, and Parliament did not meet till about the end of the following January. Of course, if more money were required either for South Africa or for the operations in China an earlier meeting would be necessary. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, has dropped no hint of impecuniosity. He has probably enough in hand to carry him along for the next three months, and in that case there would be no reason why the Government should not proceed to settle its domestic difficulties undisturbed by the prospect of an immediate Parliamentary inquisition.

Some stormy scenes will be witnessed in the opening weeks of the new Parliament. One of the first things to be done by the Opposition will be to give Mr. Chamberlain an opportunity of explaining or justifying the connexion of himself or his family with firms which have been supplying war materials to the Government. This grave scandal cannot be hushed up. It will probably form the subject of a committee of enquiry, or at all events of a searching debate in the House of Commons. Another matter that cannot be allowed to rest is the purloining of letters in South Africa for party purposes at home. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman has made so much of this discreditable episode in his campaign speeches that he is now virtually pledged to continue the war in the House of Commons.

NOTES FROM BOMBAY.

AFTER THE FAMINE.

THE FAMINE COMMISSION.

[From an Indian Correspondent.]

Bombay, September 22.

Slowly the number of persons at the various famine relief camps is diminishing. The latest official return records the total at about 3½ millions. In all probability the number will shrink to insignificant proportions by the end of November. Meanwhile, there comes the news of a terrific cyclone on the banks of the Hooghli, which has had the effect of turning the metropolis of the Empire into a huge pool of water 4 to 5 feet deep. A correspondent telegraphs that Calcutta looks more like Vienna than an Indian town. In certain parts of the streets people have to move about in small boats. This for the City of Palaces is indeed a new experience. Of course, there is much damage to property and some loss of life. It is, however, fortunate that this heavy hurricane, the like of which has not occurred within the last thirty years, has not extended inland. For the big rice and other food grain crops are there; and it would be a heavy calamity for the poor rayats of those districts to see their ripe crops swept away by the inclemency of the weather. But in India one never can say whether a monsoon is really good or bad or indifferent till October has passed away. Till that time we never can say we are out of the wood, and any optimistic hallooing is premature.

Some very able letters, full of life, have recently appeared in the columns of the *Times of India*, describing the condition of certain woe-begone villages in Gujerat after the subsidence of the famine. The sketches are not only bright but full of economic information. The whole trend of this series of letters tells us too plainly what havoc the famine has created and what a number of years it will take for the rayat to re-establish himself in the condition he was in during the summer of 1896—the last good year that he witnessed. The after-effects of famine need indeed no less graphic a pen to describe than that which portrayed the actualities, the dire conditions of famishing millions during the prevalence of famine. The two conditions must be set side by side, and the lessons to be derived therefrom should be carefully noted.

Meanwhile, the talk of the coming Commission to investigate into the true causes of the famine is again revived. It is expected that the Commission will be brought into existence as soon as Parliament assembles and the fever and excitement of the "khaki" election has fully subsided. The *Times of India* makes a capital suggestion as to the nomination of the Hon. Mr. Justice Ranade as a member of that body. It would prefer him to Mr. Dutt, whom it names also; but it observes that the retired Bengal civilian, though able and every way capable, has by his recent criticisms committed himself too far. Mr. Ranade, on the other hand, has had no less valuable experience of land revenue matters than Mr. Dutt. Moreover, he was for years special judge in the four districts of Poona, where the operations of the Deccan Agricultural Relief Act are in full swing. He has thus known to the fullest extent all about the indebtedness of the rayat. Lastly, Mr. Ranade has not been committed to any particular view. So that what with his ability and experience, his judicial calmness, and his open-mindedness, there is not a single Indian in the whole country who is more competent to sit on the coming Commission than he who may be deservedly called the Second Grand Old Man of India. It is devoutly to be hoped that the Government of India will strongly recommend Mr. Ranade to the Home Government. At the same time it is meet that Indian gentlemen of experience besides Mr. Ranade should be on that body—those who may have different views. In a mixed Commission it is always best to have the pick of men on different sides of the controversy. For then there is every chance of a great and burning question being thoroughly sifted and adjudicated upon. A member like the Hon. Sir Harnam Sinh from the Punjab, a member like the Mahárájá of Darbhanga from Bengal, and a member like the Hon. Mr. Chariar of Madras, who knows so much of the Godavery Settlement and other matters, would be all great and desirable acquisitions. The Commission will then be a fair and impartial body who might be relied upon to submit a well digested, sound, and independent report. Of course the scope of the reference should be wide. And under any circumstances the origin of the present poverty in the country must form one of the principal heads of enquiry. Without such reference the Commission would be superfluous. For that matter a departmental Committee might do just as well.

The programme of the Viceroy's tour is now published. But the Press generally trusts that the princes and chiefs of the various localities to be visited will not be so foolish as to spend what remains of their depleted treasuries on Viceregal pageants and pomp. I have already written on this subject. The best way to curb and control this waste of money would be for the Viceroy himself to give each *Raj* or *Durbar* a broad and open hint that his official reception should not be at all costly. It is to be hoped that such an official declaration will be issued betimes. It would be welcomed by the entire Indian Press and spoken of more favourably than the somewhat rash and hasty one recently addressed to the princes, which has become the theme of many adverse comments of a just character. Even when the most capable and well meaning of Viceroys go wrong, it is meet that the Press should point out the error. It is its duty to do so. And it is the duty of the erring Viceroy to rectify the error and not resent the advice proffered.

The local Press has of late had to deal with the Director of Public Instruction in the matter of vernacular publications. That functionary was ordered, under a resolution issued by the Imperial Government some time ago, to review these publications. It is well known that modern vernacular literature needs very careful tending and patronage. But in India the Mæcenases are few; while the writers who write are mostly of a class who cannot be said to have received a high liberal education and culture. Of course, here and there in the ranks may be found a brilliant man of exceptional ability. But the general run may be described as mediocre. Such being the case it cannot be expected that an impecunious mediocrity, in want of patrons of literature, can enrich the vernacul[illegible] languages. They are hardly ably to kindle their torches [illegible] old classical fires. Humdrum knowledge or transl[illegible] histories, novels, scientific primers, and so forth—the [illegible] general pabulum of the writers. But the reviewer, forgett[illegible] these accidents of the vernacular literature of the day in our Presidency, set himself up on high, with a lofty standard—aye, such a standard that even were he to write a book, he might never come near it. Instead of judging of these effusions mildly and in a spirit of sympathy, he did it with all the disagreeableness and insolence of the narrow-minded Dominie, ever ready to lay his birch on the back of the poor wights of fifth-rate authors. And lo! he evolved out of his moral consciousness some literary cobwebs and fictions of his own. I may mention one particular work, the production of Mr. B. M. Malabari, who is known as an excellent versifier in pure Gujerati, being born and bred among Gujeratis in his native town of Surat and later on at Baroda. *Sansarika* is the name of the work, which signifies worldly wisdom. And as that wisdom is found in abundance in the writer, he no doubt gave vent to it in his own way. But this did not suit the Director of Public Instruction, whose knowledge of Gujerati is on a par with that of a resident of Timbuctoo or Kamschatka. As a result he did great injustice, this narrow visioned and ignorant reviewer, to the excellent qualities of Mr. Malabari's *Sansarika*. That masterful publicist, who seldom loses his temper, was, for once, aroused to wrath at the transparent travesty and the unfairness of the criticism on the book. So he has lashed the Director well. Meanwhile that functionary has been anathematised in turn by many a writer in the Native Press. They question his right to sit in judgment on a literature of the very *a, b, c* of which he is ignorant. The Government, too, is taken to task for setting up such a reviewer. It is to be hoped the experiments will not be repeated, and vernacular literature will be allowed to be judged by persons well qualified for the purpose, and above all, not imbued with the prejudices and the pomposities of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy.

INDIA AND THE GENERAL ELECTION.

THE INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. Herbert Lewis has been re-elected for Flint District by a majority of 347 votes. His majority in 1895 was 165.

Mr. J. Gilhooly has again been returned unopposed for West Cork.

Mr. J. G. Swift MacNeill has again been returned unopposed for South Donegal.

Dr. R. Ambrose has again been returned unopposed for West Mayo.

Mr. R. J. Price has been re-elected for East Norfolk by a majority of 820 votes. His majority in 1895 was 198.

Mr. Charles Fenwick has been re-elected for the Wansbeck Division of Northumberland by a majority of 1,191 votes. His majority in 1895 was 3,207.

Mr. Henry J. Wilson has been re-elected for the Holmfirth Division of Yorkshire by a majority of 767 votes. His majority in 1895 was 767. Mr. Wilson has had a very keen fight for his seat. We congratulate him on his victory. He is always on the right side on Indian questions.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson has been defeated at Cockermouth by 209 votes. His majority in 1895 was 241.

J. F. X. O'Brien has been re-elected for Cork City by a majority of 3,278 votes. His majority in 1895 was 333.

Mr. S. Young has again been returned unopposed for East Cavan.

Mr. C. B. McLaren has been returned unopposed for Leicestershire (Bosworth). His majority in 1895 was 1,120.

Mr. James O'Connor has again been returned unopposed for West Wicklow.

Captain Cecil Norton has been re-elected for West Newington by a majority of 1,156 votes. His majority in 1895 was 450.

Mr. E. H. Pickersgill has been defeated for Bethnal Green (South-West) by 348 votes. His majority in 1895 was 279.

Sir John Baker has been defeated at Portsmouth by 352 votes. His majority in 1895 was 734.

Mr. A. D. Provand has been defeated at the Blackfriars Division of Glasgow by 1,000 votes. His majority in 1895 was 380.

Mr. James Stuart has been defeated at Hoxton by 271 votes. His majority in 1895 was 128.

The Hon. Philip Stanhope has been defeated at Burnley by [illegible]s. His majority in 1895 was 321.

[illegible] V. Nussey has been re-elected for Pontefract by a [illegible]jority of 125 votes. His majority in 1895 was 57.

Sir Samuel Montagu has been defeated at Leeds (Central) by 1,102 votes. In 1895 he stood for Whitechapel, where his majority was 22.

Mr. J. Lawson Walton has been re-elected for Leeds (South) by a majority of 234 votes. In 1895 his majority was 161.

Mr. C. H. Wilson has been re-elected for Hull (West) by a majority of 1,945 votes. His majority in 1895 was 5,237.

Mr. W. S. Robson has been re-elected for South Shields by a majority of 3,298. His majority in 1895 was 133.

Mr. W. Allan has been re-elected for Gateshead by a majority of 946. His majority in 1895 was 483.

Mr. Thomas Burt has been re-elected for Morpeth by a majority of 410. His majority in 1895 was 2,169.

Mr. W. Jones has been returned unopposed for Carnarvon (Arfon). His majority in 1895 was 1,619.

Captain Sinclair has been re-elected for Forfarshire by a majority of 248 votes. His majority in 1895 was 458.

Sergeant Hemphill has been re-elected for North Tyrone by a majority of 34 votes. His majority in 1895 was 91. (Sergeant Hemphill is not a member of the Indian Parliamentary Committee, but is one of the Front Bench Liberals who have shown sympathy with the objects of the Committee.)

Sir T. H. Grattan Esmonde has been elected for North Wexford by a majority of 1,670 votes. In the last Parliament he sat for West Kerry, where he was unopposed in 1895.

Mr. J. C. Flynn has again been returned unopposed for North Cork.

Mr. J. Herbert Roberts has been returned unopposed for West Denbighshire. His majority in 1895 was 1,603.

Mr. M. McCartan has been returned unopposed for South Down. His majority in 1895 was 679.

Mr. J. Caldwell has been re-elected for Mid Lanark by a majority of 192 votes. His majority in 1895 was 71.

Mr. J. E. Ellis has been re-elected for the Rushcliffe Division of Nottinghamshire by a majority of 446 votes. His majority in 1895 was 633.

Mr. J. Brigg has been re-elected for the Keighley Division of Yorkshire by a majority of 640 votes. His majority in 1895 was 840

Mr. Albert Spicer has been defeated for Monmouth District by 692 votes. His majority at the last election was 154.

Mr. Robinson Souttar has been defeated for Dumfriesshire by 449 votes. His majority in 1895 was 13. We greatly regret the loss of this seat. Mr. Souttar has been an active and a most useful member of the Indian Parliamentary Committee.

Sir J. W. Pease has been re-elected for the Barnard Castle Division of Durham by a majority of 1,491. His majority in 1895 was 1,076.

Mr. F. W. Wilson has been re-elected for Mid Norfolk by a majority of 574 votes. His majority in 1895 was 134.

Sir James Kitson has been re-elected for the Colne Valley Division of Yorkshire by a majority of 523 votes. His majority in 1895 was 539.

Mr. F. A. Channing has been re-elected for East North-amptonshire by a majority of 1,641 votes. His majority in 1895 was 1,216.

Mr. John Wilson has been re-elected for Mid-Durham by a majority of 1,460 votes. His majority in 1895 was 1,642.

Mr. C. P. Scott has been re-elected for the Leigh Division of Lancashire by a majority of 120 votes. His majority in 1895 was 677. Mr. Scott is the editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, one of India's best friends in the British Press. Mr. Scott has had a stiff fight for his seat, upon which a determined onslaught was made owing to his attitude on the war.

Mr. J. H. Dalziel has been re-elected for Kirkcaldy Burghs by a majority of 1,341 votes. His majority in 1895 was 1,956.

Sir J. F. Leese has been re-elected for the Accrington Division of Lancashire by a majority of 592 votes. His majority in 1895 was 592.

Professor A. F. Murison has been defeated at Glasgow (Bridgeton) by 991 votes.

Mr. A. E. Fletcher has been defeated at Glasgow (Camlachie) by 1,238 votes.

Sir H. Seymour King has been re-elected for Hull by a majority of 2,792 votes. His majority in 1895 was 1,691.

Sir M. M. Bhownaggree has been re-elected for Bethnal Green (North-East) by 379 votes. His majority in 1895 was 160.

PROFESSOR MURISON'S CONTEST IN THE BRIDGETON DIVISION.

[From our Special Correspondent, Glasgow.]

In 1885 the result of the elections in the seven divisions of Glasgow was telegraphed to Mr. Gladstone in the celebrated form: "We are Seven." This year Glasgow has completed its gradual change of political colour, and the Tory telegram appropriated the expression: "We are Seven." Bridgeton was the only division that had always remained true to the Liberal flag; but its majority had fallen from Sir George Trevelyan's best figure, 1,401, to 125, Sir Charles Cameron's narrow advantage at the last election. The number of voters is close on 12,000; and the constituency is all but purely industrial. The Tories were specially keen to break its Liberal record. It was freely stated that they would rather lose any other two seats in Glasgow than fail to capture Bridgeton.

The Tory candidate, Mr. Scott Dickson, Q.C., both on personal grounds and by reason of special circumstances, was peculiarly strong in Bridgeton. He is a native of Glasgow, son of a well-known medical practitioner, and he received his school and university education in the city. A successful advocate in Edinburgh, he has been Solicitor-General for Scotland since 1896, though he had failed to win a seat in the House, and his party did not find one for him. He lost the battle in the Kilmarnock Burghs, and twice successively in Bridgeton, so that this was his fourth contest, and his third in the same constituency—a fact that evoked not a little sympathy for him. He is facile in speech, and has a pleasant way with him. He was far the strongest Tory candidate in Glasgow, and one of the strongest in Scotland.

Professor Murison, who had been adopted as Radical candidate two or three weeks before, issued his Address on September 20, and on the same evening he addressed his first public meeting. "I stand on the broad principles of Liberalism," ran his Address, "which alone, I conceive, can maintain and increase the greatness of the British Empire and the welfare of the British people." He invited the electors to declare by their votes "that the destinies of the Empire shall not be entrusted for another term to a party whose counsels will be dominated by the dangerous influence of Mr. Chamberlain." He pointed out that "the Government, carried into office mainly on an extensive social programme, have conspicuously

failed to redeem their promises (or proposals) of social legislation," while "their most outstanding achievement in domestic legislation has been the bestowal of doles" to the amount of some £3,000,000 a year on their "friends." Their foreign policy had been disastrous. The war in South Africa, he said, "might have been averted by British conciliation and tact;" and he remarked severely on the lack of preparation for war and on the conduct of the war, and affirmed that "if annexation is to prove a success, a new spirit of conciliation must rule the administration." Contending for a fresh application of the old principles of Peace, Economy, and Reform, he enumerated certain prominent measures of political and social reform as urgent, and laid special stress on "the dangerous rate of National Expenditure." He gave a separate paragraph to India:—

"I should plead earnestly, on Imperial grounds, for a thorough enquiry into the causes of Indian famines, and for an equitable adjustment of burdens in cases of common interest to Britain and India. I would also claim justice for the oppressed British Indians in South Africa."

A candidate with only a fortnight to recommend himself to some 12,000 electors has a tolerably busy time. Professor Murison did not spare himself. Any morning at 9.30 he would be holding forth at some street corner or at some big works, catching the men in the breakfast hour. In the afternoon, 1.30 and 2.30, he addressed hundreds at iron works, leather works, gutta-percha works, weaving works, etc. In the evenings, at 8, four days in six, there was a public meeting—400 or 500, 1,500, or 2,500 persons—and sometimes two. And, on a good many days, a spell of house-to-house canvassing in the intervals of speaking. The out-door performances were rendered somewhat trying, not only by the strain on the voice, but by the uncertain and vile weather they keep at Glasgow. Every second day it was drizzle or downpour of rain; and the only excuse is that it is worse at Greenock. Often Dr. Murison addressed the crowd from the box of a cab with his hat in one hand and his umbrella overhead in the other, and—escaped the kodak. Yet, rain or shine, the working men stood patiently a speech of ten or fifteen minutes, and afterwards did the heckling. The evening meetings were conspicuously successful, the steady attention and intelligent appreciation of the audience being most marked. Professor Murison never once appealed to the gallery. He laid hold on the men's minds, marshalled the facts remorselessly, and drove home his argument lucidly, deliberately and firmly. Contrasting his method with that of another candidate, an elector said to me that he seemed "to draw them all towards him;" and a Tory evening paper acknowledged that when he addressed a special meeting (1,500) of the Irish electors, "a united lot of fire-eaters," he held them in a steady grip for three-quarters of an hour. "Professor Murison may yet speak at many gatherings," it said, "but he will never get a more enthusiastic or more orderly audience than he had last night." Another Tory paper, commenting on his speech in support of the Radical candidate in the neighbouring College division, admitted that "Bridgeton's candidate is one of the most effective speakers now in the election field, and last night he quite surpassed himself." One of the first things I discovered in Glasgow was the proud opinion of the capacity of the Bridgeton hecklers. It is not advisable to cite questions and answers apart from the context of circumstances, but the Bridgeton hecklers quickly discovered that in Professor Murison they had met their match. It is safe to say that there was not a single question of mere heckling, or a single mischievous interruption in the course of a speech, that the Professor did not coolly and promptly turn to his own advantage and the confusion of his adversary. On no point did he more agreeably surprise his own supporters. By the end of the campaign the hecklers let him severely alone. Apart from the blunders of the war and the essentials of a wise settlement after annexation, he fought the contest on home politics, economical finance, and a more thorough and sympathetic administration of all parts of the Empire. Compendiously, he stigmatised the Government as a Government of "doles and disaster."

At two or three of his largest meetings Professor Murison touched briefly, but comprehensively and incisively, on the government and administration of India. He exposed the waste of men and money—the Indian taxpayer's, the impoverished rayat's, money—on irritating and worse than useless military adventures beyond the North-West Frontier; the frightful ravages of the famine, the necessity for full and independent enquiry into its causes, and the shabbiness and impolicy of the refusal of a National free grant in sympathy with our Indian fellow-subjects; the perversities of the plague policy, and the final recantation of the Indian Government; and the infatuated official insistance on driving wider the cleavage between the rulers and the ruled. At the greatest meeting of all (say 2,500) the night before the poll, he was accompanied to the platform by Mr. Wagle and Sirdar Ghorpade of Baroda, whose turbans evoked immense interest. Mr. Wagle spoke about twenty minutes with most gratifying acceptance, confirming Dr. Murison's contentions and opening up fresh vistas of Indian life and political experience, much to the astonishment of his hearers. His manly bearing, sympathetic tone, and bold claim for a "member for Bridgeton and India," secured him overwhelming applause; and his speech and his personal magnetism formed almost the sole topics of admiring remark in the Liberal Club during the rest of the evening. During the day of the poll—Thursday, October 4—Mr. Wagle and the Sirdar drove round the polling stations in Dr. Murison's carriage, and were everywhere received with cordial applause. The Tory henchmen murmured here and there "dressed-up Boers" and "coolies," but rather by way of joke than abuse. One man who had been in India saluted Mr. Wagle with "Salaam, Sahib!" Mr. Wagle and the Sirdar had assisted Sir John Jardine in Roxburghshire, and were going on to Dumfriesshire to speak up for Mr. Robinson Souttar, whose seat was believed to be in great danger, and has since been most unfortunately lost. Their visit to Glasgow brought a picturesque, as well as an Imperial, element into the great fight in the sober industrial streets of Bridgeton.

The straightforward and judicious action of Professor Murison had apparently welded together the wide variety of Liberal forces. He had been expressly promised the votes of the United Irish League of Great Britain in Bridgeton, and of the Independent Labour party; he was assured of the support of the Temperance party, and of the Co-operators; and he had satisfied all the demands of the Clerical Irish party. He had inevitably earned the hostility of the publicans, and alienated such of the small shopkeepers as seriously dreaded the effects of the Co-operative movement, which is very strong in Glasgow. There seemed to be no doubt that he had the general body of Liberals solidly at his back. His friends were quietly confident. But the heavy poll of 9,119—(77.9 of the electorate)—gave Mr. Scott Dickson 5,032 votes, and Professor Murison only 4,041, the rest of the voting papers not counting. The Tory majority was thus 991. The other Divisions of Glasgow shared in the disaster. Blackfriars was lost by 1,000; Camlachie (where Mr. A. E. Fletcher had an uphill fight, in which Professor Murison assisted him) by 1,238; College by 1,469; Tradeston by 1,604; and St. Rollox (where Mr. McKinnon Wood fought a good fight against a singularly weak opponent, with hopes that were estimated in the Liberal Club the night before at 1,200 of a majority) by 183. On a comparison, therefore, Bridgeton did remarkably well. The causes, evidently general, and to be considered in connexion with other great seaports such as Newcastle, Sunderland, Hull, etc., remain to be investigated. The war fever is one; inadequate Liberal organisation is probably another; and, in Glasgow, there is a whisper of secret opposition on the part of the Clerical Irish. Anyhow, the Liberals of Bridgeton were dumbfounded. On the announcement of the poll to an immense meeting in the Temperance Institute, the audience at first took it for a joke and would not believe it. However, they evidently laid no part of the blame on their candidate. "His reception," said the *Daily Record* truly, "was magnificent," and he "was enthusiastically thanked by the audience and heartily invited to try again." On rising to speak he was greeted with tumultuous applause. "I stand before you a defeated candidate," he said—"defeated, but not dismayed, and not ashamed. We have lost a battle, indeed, but the campaign is not yet finished, and the future is Bridgeton's." In like tone, at the Liberal Club, he declared that he was "confident that the Liberal cause would yet triumph, and that before long." A shrewd friend of mine, sitting by me in the smoking-room, confided the result of his observation and cogitation to me. "When the Professor entered the room," he said, "I watched him narrowly, and, by George, I could not read in his face or bearing whether he was defeated or victorious; and he is as fresh to-night as when he started the campaign a fortnight ago. Fine thing Nerve—especially for a Parliamentary candidate! We shall hear of him again." Such was the biggest fight of the Election in Glasgow—and in Scotland.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

2,746,000 ON RELIEF.

RAIN NEEDED IN BOMBAY.

The Secretary of State for India has received the following telegram from the Viceroy, on the subject of the Famine:—

Condition of autumn crops is excellent, except in part of Bombay, where more rain is needed for ploughing, and sowings being actively prosecuted for winter crops, and famine conditions are disappearing. Prices still high, but falling. Number of persons in receipt of relief:—Bombay, 883,000; Punjab, 24,000; Central Provinces, 1,252,000; Berar, 176,000; Ajmere-Merwara, 20,000; Rajputana States, 55,000; Central India States, 31,000; Bombay Native States, 92,000; Baroda, 44,000; Punjab Native States, 10,000; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 25,000; Hyderabad, 132,000; Madras, 2,000.—Total, 2,746,000.

The following has been received from the Governor of Bombay:—

"Following are figures for week ended September 29:—Famine-stricken districts, 337 cases of cholera, of which there were fatal 215. Native States—cases of cholera, 294; deaths from cholera, 223. Total number of deaths among number on relief works or gratuitous relief—British districts, 2,411, or 2 7-10 per mille. Rain, moderate to slight. Good fall of rain urgently wanted in parts of affected area. Crops withered in parts of Karnatik, Sholapur, Ahmednagar. Number of famine relief recipients shows a decrease."

THE TAX-GATHERER AT WORK.

The *Morning Leader* of Tuesday printed the following telegram from its correspondent at Bombay, dated October 8:—

"Mr. Parekh, an Indian member of the Governor's Council, has published a statement containing evidence which shows that certain subordinate Government officials have maltreated rayats (*i.e.*, peasants) for not paying their taxes, and have also taken for taxes money which had been given to the peasants from the charitable funds.

"A judicial enquiry is demanded."

On Thursday the *Morning Leader* printed the following further telegram from its Bombay correspondent:—

"The Bombay Government has appointed an officer with judicial powers to enquire into Mr. Parekh's allegations concerning harsh collection of taxes, and has also called for reports from certain high officials who are implicated.

"These measures have been received with public satisfaction."

THE MANSION HOUSE FUND.

The Mansion House Fund for the relief of the Indian famine sufferers exceeded on Wednesday night £374,700.

THE "INVESTORS' REVIEW" FUND.

We take the following from the current issue (October 6) of the *Investors' Review*:—

Subscriptions to our little fund, from which not a penny is deducted for advertisements in newspapers or any other kind of charges, may be sent to A. J. Wilson, at this office; cheques to be crossed "Union Bank of London, Indian Famine Fund."

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Amount acknowledged last week	£854	11	7
A. A. S.	1	10	0
Collection at Miss Alison Garland's lecture at Edengale, Tamworth, per INDIA	2	11	0
Total to date	£858	12	7

BRITISH INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

[FROM A NATAL CORRESPONDENT.]

A suggestion has been made that the friends in England of the Indian settlers in South Africa should be put in possession of the latest facts regarding their grievances, so as to enable them to place the matter for consideration before the proper authorities, in view of the pending settlement of South African affairs. It has also been suggested that a memorial to the Colonial Secretary, backed up by public meetings, should be promoted in order that it may strengthen the hands of the workers in England. After mature consideration the latter plan has been dropped. There are sound reasons for the belief that, if adopted, it will be misunderstood here, where the feeling is that until the war is over, and the troubles attendant thereon have entirely disappeared, no questions not arising from the war should be discussed or considered. Moreover, it is likely that a memorial at the present time would disturb the happy relations which, for the time being, appear to subsist between the European and the Indian communities.

It is most difficult to say what the future would bring, and whether the old soreness would not be revived as soon as peace is restored. Indeed, there are grounds for the fear that there will be no change in the former attitude. The *Natal Witness*, only a few days ago, in the course of a leading article said that the services rendered by the local Indians as ambulance-men and otherwise should not be allowed to blind the Colonists to the necessity of keeping an ever-vigilant eye on the Indian question, and seeing that the temporary military occupation under Lord Roberts who, owing to his Indian connexion, might entertain pro-Indian views, is not permitted to encroach upon the position Natal has hitherto maintained successfully in restricting Indian immigration and enterprise, and that the services referred to above were rather an acknowledgment by the Indians of the justice of Natal's position than that they were rendered in spite of their legitimate grievances.

The Indians formed a Volunteer Stretcher-bearer Corps of over 1,000, each bearer drawing £1 per week—*i.e.*, a little over half the pay drawn by the European stretcher-bearers, assisted by over thirty leaders who served without any remuneration whatsoever, and included the most respectable portion of the community, and who left their business or employment to serve their Empress. When they did so it was clearly stated that it was done in spite of the grievances, because they felt it their duty, at a time like that, to sink their domestic differences. The Indian merchants, if they could not join the corps, equipped the leaders and maintained the families of such of them as stood in need of help. The corps served at the fateful battles of Colenso, Spionkop, and Vaalkranz. High praise has been bestowed on the work done by it. Sir John Robinson—the first Prime Minister of Natal—has thus spoken of its services: "With reference to the part played by the Indian community during the crisis I can only say that it redounds to the credit and patriotism of you all. Reasons—which you can well understand—forbade the employment of any but British troops in the battle-field. But whatever use could be made of your loyal ardour—what opportunity could be afforded to your eager desire to co-operate in the Empire's cause—was gladly agreed to by the authorities. Though you were debarred from actual service in the field, you were able to do excellent work in succouring the wounded. I cannot too warmly thank your able countryman, Mr. Gandhi, upon his timely, unselfish and most useful action in voluntarily organising a corps of bearers for ambulance work at the front at a moment when their labours were sorely needed in discharging arduous duties which experience showed to be by no means devoid of peril. All engaged in that service deserve the grateful recognition of the community."

The Indians contributed what has been called a handsome sum (over £57) to the funds of the Women's Patriotic League, of which the *Natal Mercury* says: "The gift of money for the Women's Patriotic Fund, especially for the purpose of assisting in the care of the sick and wounded volunteers at the front, is a very acceptable and eloquent expression of the feeling of the Indian people. It is not enough, in their minds, to succour the large mass of Indian refugees, as they are doing in an open-handed manner, but they must bestow this added contribution, we believe, as a token of their devotion to the Queen-Empress and to the country in which they have come to reside. Nothing can better show the real feeling that animates this portion of our population, who too often have very little said on their behalf, than such a display of loyalty."

The Indian ladies gave their work in the shape of making pillow-cases, handkerchiefs, &c., for the wounded out of cloth supplied by the Indian merchants over and above the above contribution. The Indians throughout the trying times also maintained thousands of their fellow countrymen, refugees from the Transvaal and the parts of the Colony in Boer occupation, practically without encroaching upon the funds sent from London and raised locally, and administered by the Refugee Relief Committee.

The Mayor of Durban has acknowledged that service in the follow-

ing words (spoken in March last): "The Mayor took the opportunity of thanking the Indian community for their loyalty during the last four months or so. Many of their people had been compelled to leave their abodes in the upper parts of the Colony and had come down here for refuge. These they had taken amongst themselves, and borne the burden of maintenance at their own expense. For that he thanked them sincerely."

It may be stated, without any affectation, that these services have been rendered without any intention to secure any reward. If we claimed privileges as British subjects we could not very well shirk the duties of such subjects, which the very humble services undoubtedly were, and therefore could carry no reward.

It might be worthy of note that the local Indians were not behind-hand in materially assisting the Indian Camp Followers' Fund, initiated by Captain Leumann, I.M.S. They subscribed over £50, and the colonial-born Indians gave an amateur performance, handing to it the net proceeds thereof to the extent of over £20. As an illustration of the happy relations may be mentioned the great meeting held by the Indians to congratulate the British Generals on the relief of Ladysmith and Kimberley, which was presided over by Sir John Robinson, and attended by over fifty leading European citizens; also the extremely generous response made by the Europeans in Natal to an appeal for the famine-stricken masses of India, over £2,000 being subscribed by them alone. The Governor is the patron of the fund, the Mayor of Durban is the chairman, the Protector of Indian Immigrants the honorary treasurer, an Indian gentleman the honorary secretary, and leading European planters and merchants on the committee—a combination that might have been impossible a year ago.

The above remarks on the feeling regarding the British Indians in Natal clears the ground for a statement of grievances. It may be as well to read the following summary side by side with the circular letter dated 27th March, 1897.

As to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony nothing need be said at present, except that it may be confidently expected that none of the grievances which, owing to the past status of the two States, the Colonial Office declared itself powerless to redress however much it sympathised with the Indians, will be allowed to exist in the slightest degree under the new régime where there would not have to be considered even the sentiments of a self-governing colony as in the case of Natal.

Zululand now being part and parcel of Natal does not require separate mention, though it may be stated that the regulations prohibiting Indian bids at land sales when it was directly under the Crown were withdrawn before it was incorporated with this Colony.

In Natal the position remains unchanged. The Immigration Restrictions Act is still being enforced as vigorously as it could be under the circumstances. A short statement of its working may not be out of place.

Under it no person who is unable to write out, in any of the European languages, an application in the form attached to the Act, can enter the Colony unless he has been previously domiciled. Notices, for which there is no sanction in the Act itself, have been issued to the shipping companies warning them against taking Indian passengers for Natal unless they are armed with certificates of domicile, which were at first issued free of charge on a verbal application either by the person himself or by his friends. A charge of 2s. 6d. was then introduced for its issue. Later on an affidavit of proof of domicile was required. Then two affidavits were insisted upon, and proof that the applicant for the certificate had been resident in the Colony at least two years; and the latest innovation is that either the person wishing to enter the Colony must himself apply for a certificate of domicile, or persons of known respectability should tender, under oath, proof of domicile. Thus it will be seen that the cordon of restriction has grown tighter with the lapse of time. The practical effect of the working of all this is that all but the well-to-do are shut out of the Colony. As to this, it is contended for the Government that it would be no hardship for the persons requiring certificates of domicile to make the application under their own signatures, as they could always take them out before leaving the Colony. Such an argument would be perfectly sound if the innovation were to affect only those who may hereafter leave the Colony. But it is positively harmful for those who are outside the Colony. A person in India requiring such a certificate may have to wait one year before he could get it. The postal service between India and South Africa is as irregular as it could be; and there is no guarantee that the receipt by the Immigration Officer of an application invariably insures the issue of the domicile paper. For, as has often happened before, it is not at all unlikely that it may have to be returned several times to India for some flaw therein—imaginary or real. Theoretically, the shipping companies may defy the notices which have no legal force; and the Indian claiming admission may not take out domicile certificates which are not required by law. In practice, the shipping companies resolutely decline to issue passages except on production of certificates above referred to; so much so that it is very difficult for those who write out the English application to obtain a passage, because they cannot produce a domicile certificate, and the shipping companies would not look at the provision exempting such persons from the operation of the Act. The reason given for introducing such elaborate restrictions is that they are necessary to prevent evasions of the law; and it may be admitted that some evasions have occurred. It is, however, submitted that they ought not to be used as a handle for making unduly harsh a law which is, in its very nature, severe, and committing what is a breach of the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. The evasions should be publicly denounced and, if necessary, punished, for which there is ample provision made in the Act itself. Unfortunately the latter course has not been adopted; with the result that the innocent have to suffer for the lapse of the few guilty persons. Everything that could be done locally to induce the authorities to relax the severity has been and is being done; and it would be unfair to omit to mention that the authorities have endeavoured in a measure to meet the wishes of the Indian community. Much more can however be done, if not now, at anyrate after the war is over, by pressure of the Colonial Office to which the Government has been found to be amenable in the past.

Another effect of the Act is that it imposes vexatious restrictions on those who intend to pass through, or sojourn temporarily in the Colony, neither of which acts is prohibited by law. The Government, however, in order to prevent surreptitious settlement of Indians in the Colony have, perhaps rightly, introduced what are called Visiting and Embarkation passes. The objection, therefore, is not so much to the introduction of the passes as to the conditions under which they are issued. Formerly a deposit of £25 for Embarkation passes was required, and a fee of £1 for either Visiting or Embarkation pass. The Government, however, in answer to Indian representations, were pleased to reduce the £25 to £10, and withdrew the £1 fee. The £10 deposit, however, still stands, much to the inconvenience of intending visitors, not all of whom could afford to deposit the sum, small as it may appear in the estimation of the Government. It was this Act that was instrumental in sending away a ship-load of Indian refugees from the Transvaal from Delagoa Bay, who would fain have come to Natal, and thus saved not only the passage-money from India to Delagoa Bay on their return after the war, but not have been also a burden to the already overpressed famine-stricken India.

The other Act, not by any means the next in importance, but rather the worst of all, is the Dealers' Licence Act, only at the present time its effect is not much felt. The country beyond the Tugela is yet under semi-military government. The Newcastle, Ladysmith and Dundee corporations which gained, in 1898, unenviable notoriety for the harsh and oppressive way in which they enforced the Act, have not been able to shake themselves free from the misery caused by the Boer occupation. In Durban and Maritzburg the licencing officers have not given much trouble. What will happen in January next, at the time of the renewal of licences, it is difficult to foresee. The poor traders, however, are already trembling in their shoes because of the great uncertainty in which the Act leaves them from year's end to year's end. The friends in London may recollect that Mr. Chamberlain has approached the Natal Government, suggesting that they should introduce legislation repealing the clause depriving the Supreme Court of the ordinary appellate jurisdiction over the decisions of the licencing officers or the corporation, as the case may be; and that the Natal Government have written to the various municipalities informing them that unless they judiciously exercised their powers under the Act they might have to introduce legislation of the nature above indicated. This may be good so far as it goes, but it is sincerely hoped that it has not satisfied the Colonial Office. The least that is necessary is the removal of the terrible uncertainty that hangs, like the sword of Democles, over every Indian licence; and this can only be done by restoring the authority of the Supreme Court. There was (and very rightly) a howl of indignation when Mr. Kruger usurped the function of the High Court at Pretoria; but perhaps the very rottenness of the Transvaal Constitution was somewhat a safeguard from any real danger from such usurpation. But in Natal, where are all the safeguards of a well-ordered constitution, the deprivation of the jurisdiction of the highest Court of Justice in the land makes the danger terribly real and tangible, because it receives the solemn sanction of the legislature.

The truth of these remarks will be fully borne out by recalling to the mind what has been possible in the Transvaal in spite of the vagaries of its laws, and what the Town Councils, free from the healthy restrictions of their Courts, which as British bodies they are bound to fear and respect, have been able and attempted to do. War has prevented an approach to the Colonial Office in this matter. While correspondence on the subject with the local Government was going on, war broke out; and it was considered prudent to stay further action till the cloud melted away.

The 9 o'clock rule, and numerous other troubles referred to in the circular letter, need not be recapitulated here. They but serve to show what the Indians have to suffer in the Colony. We would give much to find ourselves in reality at one with the Colonists as we are on paper, being British subjects; and it will be time enough to trouble our friends in London with the comparatively smaller troubles when the Immigration Restrictions and the Dealers' Licence Acts have ceased to worry us.

One thing is day by day causing much soreness of feeling, and that is the education of the Indian youths. The Government, which is ruled by the majority, perhaps not unnaturally finds itself powerless to assist the Indians. The result is, the Indian children are entirely shut out of the ordinary primary schools as well as the high schools. The Head Master of the Durban High School is said to have written some time ago to the Minister of Education to the effect that parents would withdraw their children if an Indian was admitted. It is, however, submitted that the Colonial Office should make it clear to the local Government that the Indians have an equal right with the Europeans in the Colony to receive education in the Government schools which are supported by taxes paid as well by the Indians as by the Europeans. For the logical consequence of the threat (it is nothing less) held out by the Head Master would be that the Indians might have absolutely no status if it were carried out in every department of life in the Colony. What would prevent a ring of European merchants, under the threat of clearing out from a particular street in a commercial centre in the Colony, from asking the Government to drive out an Indian merchant or two from their neighbourhood?

The following are referred to for further information, if necessary:—

Memorial (*re* Immigration, Trade Licences, etc.), July 2, 1897.
Memorial (*re* Dealers' Licences), December 31, 1898.
General Letter (Licences), July 31, 1899.

Special Articles on the Indian Question in South Africa, and Editorial Notes in the *Times of India* (Weekly Edition): March 11, 1899; April 15 and 22, 1899; August 19, 1899; December [illegible], 1899; January 6, 1900; June 16, 1900.

CONGRESS GREEN-BOOKS.

Nos. I., II., & III. NOW READY.

I. **THE SKELETON AT THE (JUBILEE) FEAST,** By Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P. (being a Series of Suggestions for the Prevention of Famine in India). Price 7d., post free; in India, by V.P.P., 7 annas.

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III. **THE PROPOSED SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE DUTIES IN INDIA.** Memorial to the Secretary of State for India. With Two Appendices. Price 1s. 2d., post free; in India, by V.V.P., 14 annas.

London: Published by the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, 84 & 85, Palace Chambers, S.W.
In India: Copies may be obtained from D. E. Wacha, Esq., Presidency Association, Bombay.

Open Letters to Lord Curzon
ON FAMINES IN INDIA.

By ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.

London: Kegan Paul & Co., price 7/6. Obtainable in India through any bookseller.

"Mr. R. C. Dutt's volume is extremely opportune at the present time, and his position, that an excessive land tax renders the agricultural population unable to face two or three successive years of drought, calls at least for careful examination. . . . . Mr. Dutt is on less debatable ground in pleading for a reduction of the annual drain to England and for the more extended mployment of the Indians in civil employ."—*The Times.*

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"We would draw special attention to Mr. Dutt's own convincing and eloquent plea, hidden away in the final pages of the appendix, for the creation of such representative institutions as should enable the Government of Indiat o utilise native services and keep abreast of native opinion."—*The Manchester Guardian.*

"His recommendations are that the land tax should be moderated, that irrigation works should be constructed, and tha the public debt and the public expend ture of India should be reduced. These proposals he supports with a wealth of detail of all kinds, which proves his mastery of the subject and makes good his claim to the attention of the governing authorities." *The World.*

"His view that it is inequitable to make India pay for the maintenance of a large army to be used for the general purposes of the Empire has the support of many high authorities who are by no means to be described as Little Englanders."—*Literature.*

THE GRANHAMS, SHELFORD, CAMBRIDGE.

W. A. DOUGLAS RUDGE, B.A., late Scholar and Prizeman of St. John's College, Cambridge, is prepared to take entire charge of a limited number of young Indian gentlemen and to educate them for the University or Public Schools. Special attention paid to Science subjects. Healthy country home four miles from Cambridge. References kindly permitted by Romesh C. Dutt, Esq., C.I.E., and Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., in London. In India to B. C. Ghose, Esq., M.A., Lecturer, City College, Calcutta, who will furnish further particulars.

To Political Associations, Literary Societies, Ethical Societies,

Etc., etc.

LECTURES and ADDRESSES ON INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The British Committee of the Indian National Congress (84 & 85, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W.), is now making arrangements for lectures and addresses on Indian questions.

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